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ABSTRACT

This is the second of two papers on the policy issues of early childhood development programs that were prepared especially for state, local, and federal government officials throughout the country. The first paper presented the problem of early childhood poverty and its consequences, and described how high quality early childhood development programs can help prevent the consequences of poverty. The present paper briefly reviews the arguments of the first, and presents various options that state government officials should consider in developing state policies and programs for young children. Advantages and disadvantages of each option are included in discussions of (1) selecting a population and identifying children in that population who need services, (2) how many daily program hours are needed to meet child care needs, (3) how much money to invest, and (4) which agencies to consider as potential recipients of funds. Two appendices review current government funding for early childhood programs and list sources of information concerning early childhood program policies. (RH)

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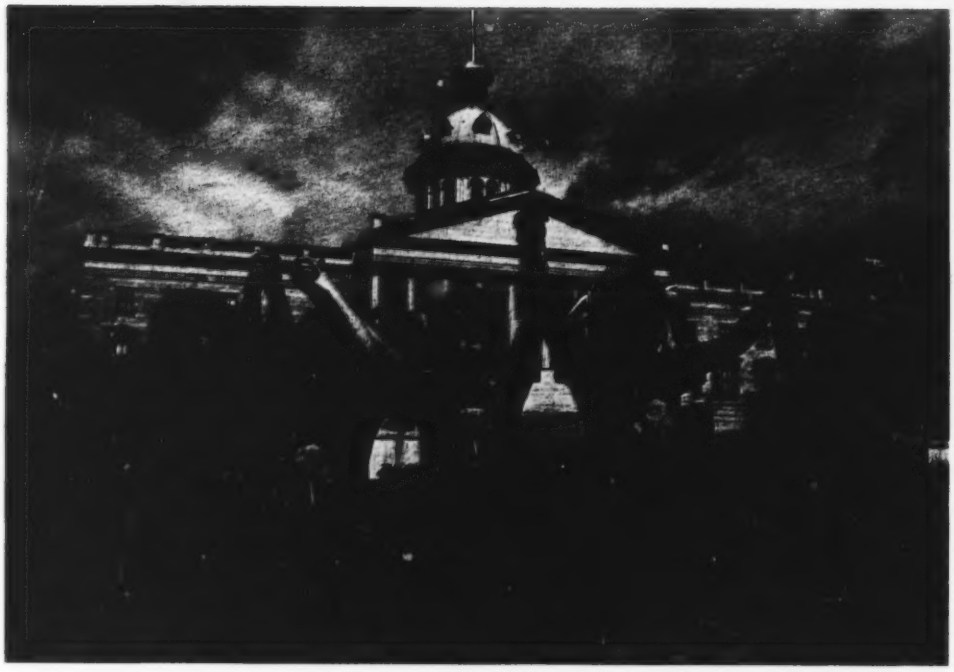
POLICY OPTIONS

FOR PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS



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HIGH/SCOPE EARLY CHILDHOOD POLICY PAPERS

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No. 5

High/Scope Early Childhood Policy Papers, No. 5

Lawrence J. Schweinhart and David P. Weikart, Series Editors

POLICY OPTIONS FOR PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS

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High/Scope Educational
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Contents

FOREWORD ii

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 1

SERVING AMERICA'S YOUNG CHILDREN 2

State Actions on Behalf of Young Children 3

Early Childhood Development Programs 4

The Effects of Good Early Childhood Development Programs 5

DESIGN OPTIONS FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS 8

Whom to Serve 8
- Age-range 8
- Selecting children 9
- Nature of the mandate 11

How Many Program Hours Daily: Meeting Child Care Needs 12
- Part-day programs 13
- Full-school-day programs 13
- Full-work-day programs 14

How Much to Invest 17
- Personnel costs 18
- The need for program quality 20
- Definition of quality 20

Where to Invest 21
- Public schools 22
- Federally funded programs 23
- Community agencies 25
- Open sponsorship 25

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS 26

Appendix A: GOVERNMENT FUNDING OF EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS 27

Review of State Commitments 30

Big-City Commitments 32

The Federal Commitment to Head Start 32

Appendix B: SOURCES OF POLICY INFORMATION ON EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS 35

FOOTNOTES 36

FOREWORD

This is the second of two papers on the policy issues of early childhood development programs prepared especially for state, local, and federal government officials throughout the country. These papers were both prepared by staff of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation in collaboration with the National Governors' Association. The first paper presented the problem of early childhood poverty and its consequences and described how high quality early childhood development programs can help prevent these consequences. This paper briefly reviews these arguments, then presents various options that state government officials should consider in developing their state's policies and programs for young children. It presents advantages and disadvantages of each option. Two appendices review current government spending for early childhood programs and list sources of information on early childhood programs.

In writing this report, we sought to make knowledge of the early childhood field accessible to policymakers. To accomplish this, we sought the advice of numerous early childhood advocates and policymakers. We want to acknowledge the careful, thoughtful reviews of the following individuals:

James T. Bond, Director, Center for the Child, National Council of Jewish Women

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This document is also the fifth in a series of papers by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation on policy issues in early childhood care and education. These papers have provided timely answers to pressing questions about early childhood enrollment and public spending, the costs and benefits of good early childhood programs, and perspectives on early childhood program quality.

As states continue to consider early childhood program investments, it is essential that they hear from the early childhood field in constructive ways. If the dialogue is held now, the programs that develop can embody what is known about good programs that will produce beneficial effects for children and for society.

Lawrence J. Schweinhart
High/Scope Educational Research Foundation

Jeffrey J. Koshel
National Governors' Association

August, 1986

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Many public officials are now considering establishing or expanding early childhood programs, which will promote the development of children below age 5 and may also meet families' child care needs. Despite evidence of immediate, short-term, and long-term benefits of such programs for children from low-income families, public funding now permits fewer than one in three of these children to be enrolled in early childhood programs.

As public provision of early childhood programs develops, various program options will have to be considered. This paper reviews these options. One set of options involves how to decide which children receive programs. Another concerns how many hours a program will operate each day; part-day programs can meet child development needs, but full-work-day programs can better meet families' child care needs.

It is important to spend enough per child to insure that early childhood programs are of high quality, since the quality of these programs can affect children for the rest of their lives. A high quality program maintains groups of no more than 20 children and a staff-child ratio of at least 1 adult for every 10 children. It employs staff members who are adequately trained in early childhood development, uses a curriculum model based on child development principles and with demonstrated effectiveness, fosters collaboration between teaching staff and parents, and is sensitive to children's health and nutrition needs and families' child care needs.

In FY 1986, 22 states contributed state funds to prekindergarten early childhood programs. As this trend continues, it is essential for policymakers to consider all the options available when designing these responses to the needs of young children and their families.

SERVING AMERICA'S YOUNG CHILDREN

More and more states are planning and implementing programs for young children. Among state officials, there appears to be a growing interest in addressing the problems facing children before they manifest themselves in adolescence. Such problems as dropping out of high school, delinquency, substance abuse, teenage unemployment, and teenage pregnancy affect all states. One consequence is that states and localities, as well as the federal government, are forced to spend enormous sums of money to address these problems after they have surfaced. Teenage pregnancy alone has been estimated to cost the nation at least $17 billion per year, an amount that represents the cost of only three of the programs that support this population group--Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Medicaid, and food stamps.[1]

An ominous indicator of future societal dysfunctioning and higher public costs is that so many young children today are living in poverty. Half of all black children under the age of 6 are living in poverty, as are two out of five Hispanic children in this age-range. For the nation as a whole, one out of every four children under the age of 6 is living in poverty. The extent of poverty among young children is greater than that of any other segment of the American population, greater by far than the extent among the elderly, who have a 14 percent poverty rate.

Almost all the federally authorized entitlement programs that provide benefits to poor families with young children became more restrictive during the first half of the 1980s, and the massive federal debt in 1986 virtually guarantees the continuation of this trend. Changes in federal legislation have, on balance, reduced the number of children eligible for food stamps, AFDC, Medicaid, and the various health care block grant

programs. Head Start and the Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) are the only two major federally authorized programs that have not restricted eligibility over the past several years.

In short, there is increasing awareness among state officials that the rapid growth of early childhood poverty, at a time of reduced federal commitment to this population, poses serious near-future threats to our society of growing school failure, crime, unemployment, and welfare dependency.

State Actions on Behalf of Young Children

During the past several years, states have taken a variety of actions on behalf of young children. Thirty-eight states have established children's trust funds that are designed to finance services to prevent child abuse and neglect. In almost all states, laws regarding child abuse and neglect have been revised and strengthened. About two thirds (34) of the states have also established a governor's task force on children or created a cabinet-level commission on children.[2]

A few states have tackled the expensive task of addressing the immediate needs of poor children and their families by increasing their AFDC payment levels. California, Maine, and Wisconsin have appropriated sufficient state funds to offset the effects of inflation on AFDC payment levels over the past decade. However, in the vast majority of states, the combined value of AFDC and food stamps still leaves recipient families below the poverty level.[3]

Several states are moving to expand the proportion of poor people covered by Medicaid. Maine and New Jersey are pursuing this program

strategy, by covering with publicly funded health care all pregnant women who live in poverty. The National Governors' Association recently passed a policy resolution, introduced by Governor Richard Riley of South Carolina, that would permit states to cover pregnant women and infants with Medicaid, as long as they are below the federal poverty level. Of course, Congress must still authorize such program expansion, which appears very likely as this publication goes to press.

Early Childhood Development Programs

For the most part, states have focused their efforts to assist young children on providing state funding for early childhood development programs rather than for income-transfer programs, such as AFDC or Medicaid. "Early childhood development programs" may be defined as those that provide children under age 5 with experience that promotes sound intellectual, social, and physical development; they may at the same time meet families' child care needs. This term encompasses nursery schools, preschools, and day care for young children, in centers and in homes. However, the U.S. Bureau of the Census has collected data not on the broad term, but rather on children's participation in "nursery schools" (programs that involve organized educational activities) or "child care" (programs for working parents who are unable to provide child care themselves).

Enrollment rates in nursery schools are significantly lower for children living in poverty than for more affluent children. One national survey of parents found that the enrollment rate for 3- and 4-year-olds was only 29 percent for families with annual incomes below $10,000, while it was 52 percent for families with annual incomes above $20,000. Parents' educational levels also play a role: the enrollment rate for 3- and 4-year-

old children of elementary school dropouts was 23 percent, while it was 58 percent for children of college graduates.[4] The irony of this gap is that longitudinal research has presented evidence of the substantial cost-effectiveness of such programs only for children living in poverty.

Child care programs, in centers or in private homes, maintain hours of operation that permit parents or guardians to work or attend school. In March, 1985, 53 percent of mothers of 3- to 5-year-olds and 44 percent of mothers of children under 3 were employed, and so made some sort of child care arrangements for their young children.[5] Child care programs vary greatly in the extent of their provisions for child development. At one extreme are minimal custodial care programs that, while they seldom do harm to children, probably contribute little to their development. At the other extreme are child care programs that follow sound policies and practices, which, as research has shown, can contribute greatly to children's development. However, there are no reliable estimates of the overall quality and degree of effectiveness of the variety of child care settings in use today.

The Effects of Good Early Childhood Development Programs

Good early childhood development programs have positive effects on children and their families and communities. Through good programs, families share their responsibility for child-rearing and provide their children with valuable experiences that they might not otherwise have. Temporarily relieved of child care responsibilities through good programs, parents may become more productive workers, with lower rates of absenteeism and tardiness due to child care concerns. Thus, businesses and communities may immediately profit from better child care.

Children are the biggest winners from good early childhood development programs. Some children, particularly those living in poverty, are likely to perform poorly as they enter school because they have not developed, to the same extent as their peers, the intellectual and social skills expected of children in kindergarten and first grade. Their lack of preparedness for school can lead to unnecessary, preventable school failure and eventually dropping out of high school. A habit of school failure established in the first days of school is difficult to break later on and often endures throughout schooling. School failure is associated with a variety of social problems--subsequent adult poverty, teenage pregnancy, drug or alcohol abuse, and crime. Poor children who attend good early childhood development programs are likely to be better prepared to meet the intellectual and social demands of kindergarten and first grade. Thus, they should enter a more successful path in school and later in their adult lives.

As might be expected, many studies have assessed the short-term effects of early childhood development programs, while only a handful have been able to assess long-term effectiveness ten years or more after the programs end. The weight of evidence from these studies indicates that good programs have positive, enduring effects. Those interested in learning more about the research summarized here should examine the summary in the earlier High/Scope Early Childhood Policy Paper titled The Preschool Challenge.[6]

These studies indicate that good early childhood development programs for poor children help prevent school failure. They help improve children's intellectual performance as school begins, an improvement that lasts only a few years at most but that spans the crucial beginning years of school. Good early childhood programs help reduce the need for poor children to be placed in special education programs or to repeat grade levels because they

are unable to do the work expected of them. Participation in good early childhood programs has been found to decrease the high school dropout rate. Additional evidence, largely from the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation's Perry Preschool study, indicates that good early childhood programs can lead to consistent improvement in the school achievement of poor children, increased rates of postsecondary enrollments and employment at age 19, and substantially decreased rates of delinquency and arrest, teenage pregnancy, and dependency on welfare at age 19.[7]

While only one thorough benefit-cost analysis of a good early childhood development program has been conducted to date, its findings apply to some extent to other good early childhood programs. The cost-benefit analysis of the Perry Preschool Program indicates that such programs can be an excellent financial investment for taxpayers. On the basis of a careful analysis of 15 years of follow-up data, this program showed a large positive net present value to taxpayers. The lifetime benefit (in constant 1981 dollars discounted at 3 percent) was about $29,000 per participant, while the cost for one year of the early childhood program was about $5,000 per participant. This return amounted to nearly six times the cost of a one-year program or three times the cost of a two-year program. From reduced costs for special education alone, the savings were enough to reimburse taxpayers for the cost of the one-year program. Additional benefits came from savings in costs of crime and delinquency, savings to the welfare system, and increased taxes paid by those who had attended the early childhood program.[8]

DESIGN OPTIONS FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS

In designing large-scale early childhood programs, one must consider the issues of whom to serve, how many program hours to provide daily, how much to invest, and where to invest. This section presents questions pertaining to each of these issues, options for resolving each question, and the advantages and disadvantages of each option.

Whom to Serve

The issue of whom to serve raises three questions--how to delimit the age-range of children to be served, how to identify which children are to be served within this age-range, and how to decide whether a program should be voluntary or compulsory, for participants and/or for the program providers.

Age-range. Early childhood prior to school age may be divided into two age groups: birth to age 2 (infants and toddlers) and ages 3 and 4 (preschoolers). About half of the mothers of children in each of these age groups are employed outside the home, and about two-thirds of these employed mothers work full-time. Consequently, each of the age groups has equal need of child care, now met in most cases by services of varying quality. But the supply of good child care programs for infants and toddlers is less than that for preschoolers; from this perspective, children from birth to age 2 have the greater need.[9] However, there is more evidence of lasting benefits for preschool programs than for programs for infants and toddlers. Thus, for a cost-effective public investment with well-documented potential, the best place to begin investing is in programs for 4-year-olds from low-income families, with the next priority being to expand to 3-year-olds from these families.

Selecting children. Once an age-range has been established, one option is to make the program universally available to all the children of this age. The age criterion is appealing because it is widely accepted and because few people protest that they have been unjustly or improperly excluded. The public schools select this option almost exclusively. When they do serve special populations, such as the handicapped, they provide the service in lieu of another service received by the rest of children.

The principal disadvantage of providing funds sufficient to serve all children of a certain age is the expense. First, the full cost of serving an age cohort of children is substantial, and new funds of this magnitude are hard to find. Second, the investment potential of early childhood programs has been assessed and documented primarily for children from low-income families, who are at special risk of school failure. If children do not fit this description, the beneficial long-term outcomes of early childhood programs are not likely to be sufficient to justify the investment on economic grounds alone. Evidence from the Brookline Early Education Project (BEEP) in Massachusetts indicates that the school problems of middle-class children are lessened somewhat by experience in good early childhood programs, but not as much as for children whose problems are greater. At the end of grade two, 14 percent of BEEP's middle-class participants exhibited inappropriate classroom learning behaviors, as compared to 28 percent of a control group; 19 percent of BEEP participants had difficulty in reading, as compared to 32 percent of the control group.[10] These benefits are certainly worthwhile, but they are not as extensive as the benefits found for children of low-income families.

A related alternative is to provide early childhood programs that are open to all children, but to provide funding only for low-income children at

special risk of school failure. This option conserves public funds while maintaining universal enrollment opportunity. The prekindergarten programs in Texas exercise a variation on this approach, making state funds for 4-year-olds universally available, with a district required to provide programs if it contains 15 or more 4-year-olds who are either "unable to speak and comprehend the English language" or "from a family whose income...is at or below subsistence level" (Texas House Bill 72, Section 1).

If not all children are served or not all receive funding, children must be selected for the program or for funding by some criteria. These criteria generally focus in some way on risk of school failure. One option is to select children living in poverty. Another is to select children identified by a screening test as being at risk of school failure. A third option is some combination of the poverty criterion and the screening test criterion.

From a research standpoint, the question is, What criterion has the best predictive validity with respect to school failure? While the longitudinal research that would definitively answer this question has yet to be done, an informed estimate is that the condition of poverty is a much better predictor of school failure than any existing screening test. Poverty may be defined solely on the basis of current income. More stable estimates can be obtained by also including such factors as parents' occupational and educational status.

Screening tests should only be used if they meet the psychometric criteria of reliability and validity, particularly the ability to predict accurately which children will later fail in school and which will succeed. Such tests are virtually nonexistent for children under 3 years of age, and

only a few exist for 3- to 6-year-olds. A recent review of screening instruments recommends only four of the many that are on the market—the Denver Developmental Screening Test, the Early Screening Inventory, the McCarthy Screening Test, and the Minneapolis Preschool Screening Instrument.[11]

Screening tests are now used to select children for prekindergarten programs in several states. For example, Missouri advanced its state early childhood strategy in 1985 by allocating $2.8 million for developmental screening of 1- and 2-year-olds and parent education programs for parents of children under age 3.

Another consideration in identifying a selection procedure is the political significance of the category identified. "Children at risk of school failure" may have wider political acceptance than "children living in poverty." In states where poverty is strongly associated with one or more big cities, targeting funds for the poor pits the cities against the rest of the state. Perhaps the best option is to target "children at risk of school failure" and to give considerable weight to environmental criteria in identifying children who fit this category. Scores from validated screening tests can serve as a supplement to poverty status in determining a child's program eligibility.

Nature of the mandate. The third question to consider in deciding whom to serve concerns what the nature of the mandate should be for school districts or community agencies and for young children and their families. It is important to use language carefully in this area because government involvement and compulsion with respect to families and young children can be a sensitive topic. The range of options appears most clearly in public

school kindergarten programs, which now constitute the primary state efforts in early childhood education. State legislation calling for kindergarten programs falls into four categories:

- Compulsory kindergarten attendance. Children are now required to attend kindergarten in Delaware, South Carolina, and Virginia, unless their parents obtain special waivers.
- Demonstrated readiness for first grade. To be admitted to first grade, a child must either successfully complete kindergarten or pass a first grade readiness test in Florida, Kentucky, and Louisiana.
- Universal opportunity for kindergarten. In 17 states, school districts are required to provide kindergarten for all children who choose to attend.
- Permissive provision of kindergarten. In the remaining 27 states, school districts are permitted, but not required, to provide kindergarten.[12]

Only Texas requires some school districts to make programs available for 4-year-olds (who are either disadvantaged or non-English-speaking). In all other state and federally funded programs for 4-year-olds, school districts or community agencies are free to decide whether to offer the programs. In all existing programs for 4-year-olds, parents are free to decide whether to enroll their child.

How Many Program Hours Daily: Meeting Child Care Needs

Length of program day is the primary policy variable that determines whether or not an early childhood program can meet the child care needs of families. Three options may be considered--part-day (2-3 hours), full-school-day (5-6 hours), or full-work-day (8-10 hours). The part-day option

may be from two to five days a week; the other options are usually five days a week.

Part-day programs. Part-day programs at least four days a week for eight months or so, when they meet other conditions of quality, operate for sufficient time to achieve positive long-term effects.[13] Part-day programs were originally designed to spare pre-first-grade children from the fatigue they might experience during a longer program day. Because there is less teacher-child contact time, part-day programs may be less expensive to operate than programs with longer hours. One efficient strategy is for teachers to conduct both morning and afternoon sessions. Disadvantages are that part-day programs do not fully meet families' child care needs, and in public schools, they create special transportation demands. Particularly in rural areas, the short hours of the program can lead to the ironic situation that many children spend more time per day on the bus than in the classroom. One way to address some of these issues is to organize satellite day care homes around a center-based part-day program; this arrangement can provide for children's transportation needs during the day and may also address the training and networking needs of day care home providers.

Full-school-day programs. Full-school-day programs are a convenient option for early childhood programs based in public schools, since they place the public transportation demands of preschoolers on the same schedule as those of all other children in the school. They also reduce families' child care needs, although if parents are employed full-time, the need for after-school child care remains. Disadvantages are that a full-school-day program can cause fatigue and behavior problems in young children unless the program is a high quality child development program that is responsive to

children's needs. Some people have the mistaken belief that early childhood research findings mean that full-school-day kindergarten programs are superior to part-day programs in their effect on children's school success. However, a recent study of Chicago kindergartens found that smaller class size was a better predictor of school achievement than length of school day. Until kindergarten class sizes are as low as 16, the study suggests, the priority for investment should be reduced class sizes. Only then can there be a payoff in expanding from a part-day program to a full-school-day program.[14]

Regardless of class sizes, full-school-day kindergarten programs are growing in popularity. A recent survey of state education agencies[15] indicated that there are some full-school-day kindergarten programs in 32 states. In 8 states, mostly in the southeast, over half the school districts provide these programs: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, North Carolina, and Virginia.

Full-work-day programs. Full-work-day programs can resolve families'child care needs. They lessen the transportation problem to the extent that parents may provide private transportation to and from the programs. Concerns about children's potential fatigue and behavior problems are the same as for full-school-day programs and can be similarly addressed by the provision of high-quality child development programs that are responsive to children's needs. In public schools, full-work-day programs are likely to be the result of part-day or full-school-day educational programs being combined with programs of after-school child care available for all children in the school. One increasingly popular approach is to make public school space available for after-school child care programs operated by nonprofit agencies or parent groups.[16]

All states now provide some support for child day care, usually through some combination of general revenues, Social Services Block Grant (SSBG) funds, state matching of child care expenses for working AFDC parents (under Title IV-A), and state income tax credits or deductions. For the vast majority of states, the income tax credit/deduction for child care and SSBG funds are the principal methods used to finance day care.[17]

In sharp contrast to all other states is California with its massive investment of general revenue funds in child development programs for children from birth to age 14. California legislators decided several years ago to spend the state's allocation of federal social services money on other human services and to support its child care and preschool programs solely with state funds. The programs are now administered by the Office of Child Development in the California Department of Education and were funded at a level of $310 million in FY 1986. In comparison, that same year New York allocated $155 million from the federal Social Services Block Grant for child care programs, Pennsylvania allocated $66 million, and no other state allocated over $50 million.

In FY 1986, California's child care programs served approximately 80,000 youngsters aged 0 to 14. An estimated 70 percent of them were aged 3 to 5, 18 percent were aged 6 to 17, and 12 percent were under age 2. The state's diversified child care investments included programs for parents who were high school or college students, looking for work, or migrants; programs for severely handicapped children and school-aged children; child care resource and referral agencies; child day care homes; and funds to parents. Also included were the state's part-day preschool programs, serving 19,264 of the state's 3- and 4-year-olds, with funding of $35 million.

Since, nationally, 54 percent of mothers with children under 6 were in the labor force in 1985, the majority of families with young children need day care for them. When day care is of sufficient quality to meet child development needs, it is expensive, easily costing $4,000 per year per child. In contrast, the typical state spends no more than $2,000 to support a child at home under its AFDC payment schedule. These two factors--size of population in need and cost per child served--have kept U.S. policymakers, at all levels of government, from acting to provide full public funding for the provision of child day care. Since funds are considered limited, a difficult policy choice must be made concerning the relative allocation of funds to day care for large numbers of working parents and to early childhood development services for disadvantaged children. As discussed earlier, there is impressive evidence of the effectiveness of part-time early childhood development programs that are focused on the intellectual and social skills of economically disadvantaged children. On one hand, from a child development standpoint, children need to attend such programs for only 10 hours a week for 30 weeks to achieve the impressive results cited earlier. On the other hand, such a part-time program does little to meet the child care needs of parents who work full-time.

One method of meeting the child care needs of some parents as well as the developmental needs of disadvantaged children is to provide high-quality, full-day care for those children who live in poverty despite the fact that their mothers are in the labor force. These employed mothers remain in poverty because their earnings are not sufficient to raise them above the poverty line--due to part-time employment and/or low wages. In 1985, 26 percent of impoverished mothers of children under 6 were in the labor force--732,000 women. The rates were 24 percent for mothers in two-

parent families and 27 percent for mothers in single-parent families. These percentages would probably increase a few points if more subsidized child care for low-income families were available. Clearly, the provision of exclusively part-day programs for children living in poverty will not fully meet the child care needs of low-income mothers who are employed full-time outside the home.

When subsidized child care for low-income families is merely custodial, the policy is essentially one of income transfer, permitting low-income families to keep a greater proportion of their disposable income for food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities rather than to have it absorbed by the cost of child care. High quality child care goes beyond an income transfer and becomes an investment in at-risk children.

Some states may want to increase their commitment to providing expanded child care for low-income working families as one method of addressing the increased incidence of poverty among children. However, subsidized child care for low-income working families does not address the needs of children in families in which parents are <u>not</u> employed. Other policy options beyond day care for working parents must be considered for this population group.

How Much to Invest

Most states prefer to begin pilot programs at a few sites and then gradually expand to a statewide effort. The question of how to develop funding levels for a program depends on the state's resources and political will on the early childhood issue. One technical consideration is whether the state has the requisite number of qualified early childhood teachers and caregivers, and if not, how long it will take to train them or attract them from elsewhere.

Several states have decided to move cautiously into funding for prekindergarten programs by financing pilot programs limited to several demonstration sites. This approach characterizes programs recently funded in Louisiana, Maine, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and Michigan.[19] It is a common policy strategy to build statewide programs over a number of years, gradually increasing the funding over that time. This gradual approach appears to characterize the programs recently begun in Massachusetts, Illinois, and Missouri. It also characterizes the approach taken over the past decade or so by South Carolina, New York, Minnesota, Maryland, and California.

New York has maintained a commitment to early childhood programs since 1966, when its Experimental Prekindergarten Program was initiated. This program went from a budget of $9 million in FY 1984 to $20 million in FY 1986, a doubling of the budget in two years. Also in 1984, the state invested $1.9 million in child care services to promote adult employment and training and $1.5 million for child care services in state universities.

Personnel costs. The cost of a fully implemented statewide program is the product of the number of children served times the average cost per child. Cost per child is primarily the cost per child of teaching staff. For example, in the High/Scope Foundation's Perry Preschool program, 81 percent of the total program cost was the cost of teachers.[20] The cost of teaching staff is determined by staff salaries and staff-child ratios.

The staff-child ratio depends in part upon the number of children per classroom group; group size is thus a key determinant of both the cost and the quality of early childhood programs. Smaller classroom group sizes were found to be associated with desirable classroom behavior and improved

cognitive performance in the National Day Care study conducted in the 1970s by Abt Associates.[21] Because it was conducted with young children, this large-scale study is more applicable than elementary-school class size studies. It found the most favorable outcomes for groups with fewer than 16 children enrolled, with positive outcomes extending to groups with up to 20 children enrolled. It also found the most favorable outcomes for a staff-child ratio of at least 1 adult for every 10 children. Larger groups and ones with less favorable ratios had negative outcomes.

The only teacher characteristic found to predict program quality and effectiveness in the National Day Care study was amount of early childhood training. No other teacher characteristic was found to be related to effectiveness--not college or graduate degrees or teaching credentials per se, and not amount of experience, whether in teaching or in child care. Early childhood is a specialized focus, just as are other specialties in teaching and human services provision. Early childhood training is absolutely crucial to program effectiveness.

That said, if teaching young children is to be a valued and stable function in our society, it is important in the long run to create a hierarchical profession that permits career development. Staff expenses can be kept down by employing teaching assistants at lower salaries. But these lower-paid personnel should see the future promise of teacher and master-teacher salaries that support a family at a reasonable standard of living.

If this is an issue for teachers in general, it is much more of an issue for early childhood teachers. The average annual salary of Head Start staff in 1985 was $7,700, substantially below the average <u>starting</u> public school salary of $14,500 and a mere one third of the average public school

salary of $23,546.[22] While some of this disparity is attributable to greater use of teaching assistants in Head Start, much of it is due to an undervaluing of the early childhood teaching specialization. Early childhood teaching has been accorded very low status because of society's failure to recognize the vast potential of properly implemented early childhood development programs to contribute to the prevention of subsequent educational and social problems.

The need for program quality. It is poor public investment policy to finance early childhood programs at per-child levels insufficient to provide high quality programs. With limited funds, it is probably better to provide high quality programs to some children than to provide inferior programs to a larger number of children. This has been the constant dilemma of the national Head Start project, which now serves only one in four eligible children. But if quality is sacrificed in order to serve more children, the value of the program for all the children may be seriously undermined.

Certainly, research findings cited here are not an endorsement of all early childhood programs. There is no intrinsic value in a young child's leaving home for a few hours a day to join another adult and a group of children. Unless program quality is carefully defined and maintained, an early childhood classroom is just another place for a child to be.

Definition of quality. If an early childhood program is to promote child development intellectually, socially, and physically, it must be conducted to meet high standards of quality by competent child development professionals who establish an environment that supports children's active learning. Such a program has the following characteristics of staffing, curriculum, and child and family services:

- At least 1 staff member for every 10 children (preschoolers) and a classroom enrollment limit of no more than 20 children
- Teaching staff who are early childhood specialists--with academic degrees in early childhood development, competency-based Child Development Associate credentials, or their equivalents
- A curriculum model, derived from principles of child development, that has been evaluated and found to have positive intellectual and social outcomes[23]
- Support systems to maintain the curriculum model, including curriculum leadership by administration, curriculum-specific inservice training and evaluation procedures, and teaching staff assignments that permit daily team planning and evaluation of program activities
- Collaboration between teaching staff and parents, as partners in the education and development of children, including frequent communication and substantive conferences at least monthly
- Sensitivity and responsiveness to the child's health and nutrition needs and family needs for child care or other services[24]

Where to Invest

As policymakers consider how to make public investments in early childhood development programs, they should keep in mind that young children and their families have diverse needs for child care and early childhood education and that it is not necessary for one program to meet all needs of all children; there are now a variety of programs attempting to meet these needs. Any public investments should be made with sensitivity to this diversity; over time, as shown in the case of California, public investments need not be limited to a single program option.

One of the trickiest political issues facing state government officials in the early childhood area is how to decide which agencies will receive the money. Whether providers receive funds directly or parents receive funds and select programs (a voucher system), the question really is, Who should be authorized to receive funds to provide programs? The three types of agencies that might provide programs are public schools, Head Start agencies, and such other community agencies as day care centers or associations of day care homes. If any one of these is excluded from receiving funds that others receive, it can be anticipated that some agency not receiving dollars might be distressed.

Public schools. One option is to provide early childhood programs through the public schools. Historically, state funding for kindergarten programs has been distributed to the public schools. Extending this approach by enhanced kindergarten programs or by programs for younger children has all the advantages and disadvantages of other public school programs. Advantages of funding the public schools include the following: (a) they are universally available; (b) they are usually governed by elected community representatives (school boards); (c) they have professional standing, certification standards, and salary schedules; and (d) they have a vested interest in having better-prepared students at kindergarten entry.

Critics who oppose the idea of public schools providing early childhood development programs offer the following reasons: (a) the child/staff ratios in most public schools are at least 20 to 1, whereas ratios of 10 to 1 or better have been found to be effective for preschool-aged children; (b) public schools in the past have sometimes excluded parents from the educational process, failed to meet the needs of non-white ethnic groups in particular, and not felt responsible for the child care needs of working

parents; (c) public schools may adopt a narrow focus on direct instruction in academic skills, rather than a broad child development focus, and expect 4-year-olds to act and perform like first-graders; and (d) public schools may overlook existing child care services in the community and even put them out of business.

For public schools to serve a legitimate child development function, innovation addressing these concerns is called for. Smaller class sizes, greater involvement of parents, and stronger emphasis on broad intellectual and social development must be a part of state kindergarten and prekindergarten public school initiatives if these initiatives are expected to yield results similar to those of exemplary child development programs.

Federally funded programs. Another option for funding early childhood development programs is to provide supplemental state money for existing federally funded programs. Most federal programs require some state or local match, so states may already be providing these dollars to some extent. Alaska and Washington State have provided state funding to help meet the 20 percent match for federal Head Start funds in those states. Since September, 1984, Maine has provided funds for Head Start programs in that state to serve over 600 additional children, and Rhode Island established a similar plan this year. In Maryland, the Extended Elementary Education program, which includes prekindergarten programs, combines federal compensatory education funds with dollars appropriated by the state legislature. Sources of federal grants for programs for young children include not only Head Start and compensatory education (Chapter 1 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981) but also special education. In addition, there are child care appropriations from the Social

Services Block Grant (SSBG), the Child Care Food Program, and several employment-related grants programs. Another source, the federal dependent care tax credit, retained in new federal tax policy, also has analogues in the income tax policies of various states.

Providing additional funding to a state's Head Start programs has several advantages and disadvantages. Advantages are that Head Start is the country's premier publicly funded program for meeting the child development needs of low-income children, and it has a relatively stable institutional structure. It was originally designed to respond to the variety of needs of these children and their families--needs for education, nutrition, health care, social services, and parent involvement. Disadvantages stem from the fact that state policymakers are not often familiar with Head Start operations in their state. Head Start dollars go from Washington, DC, through regional offices to local grantees who either operate programs themselves or give money to delegate agencies who operate programs. State government has not been a real part of this system. State Head Start programs have not been evaluated as such, and the information that state policymakers have on programs is at best anecdotal. Head Start teachers are undertrained: fewer than 10 percent hold four-year early childhood degrees, and only 18 percent have child development associate credentials.[25]

Some of the disadvantages of Head Start might be overcome if state funds contributed to Head Start are earmarked for special purposes, such as training or evaluation, as well as for simple program expansion to serve more eligible children. For a more complete discussion of Head Start and relevant issues for state policy, see the National Governors' Association issue brief titled The Role Played by Head Start in Serving Disadvantaged Children--Implications for States.[26]

Community agencies. A third option for funding early childhood development programs is to provide funding to community agencies. Any program licensed for child care by the state's department of social services--both centers and homes--could be eligible. Limited funds could be allocated by employing competitive proposals or site visits to identify the agencies that run the best programs. The new statewide early childhood program in Washington State will be administered by the Department of Community Development. The principal advantage is that private-sector agencies with experience in running good programs can expand to serve more children. One disadvantage is that private agencies are less subject to public scrutiny and control; another is that the lack of sufficient public funding in the past has deterred private agencies from serving low-income neighborhoods, so they are not as well located as public schools.

Open sponsorship. A fourth option is to provide funding through open sponsorship to public schools, Head Start, and other community agencies. This approach helps to minimize the turf battles that inevitably occur if funds are exclusively assigned to one type of agency. It recognizes the variety of existing program providers. Of course, a designated agency or department still has to distribute the funds, both at state and local levels, in a demonstrably impartial manner.

For example, South Carolina has established a structure whereby bids are reviewed and funds distributed by interagency committees at both state and local levels. While the South Carolina schools have offered some early childhood development programs since 1971, Gov. Richard Riley's Education Improvement Act nearly doubled funding from FY 1984 to FY 1985, and the program is slated to continue to expand until, in FY 1989, it should serve 10,000 children with a state budget of $11 million supplemented by local

contributions. The influx of new funds made the interagency approach crucial, particularly in mediating the traditional rivalry between the Department of Education and the Department of Social Services. New early childhood legislation that gives school districts the option of contracting for services has passed in Illinois, Florida, and Massachusetts and is proposed in Michigan.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Over the next several years, governors and state legislators will be considering new or expanded early childhood program funding in states around the country. Legislatures and other policymaking bodies throughout the nation seem more willing than they were a few years ago to consider investing in high quality early childhood programs. A growing constituency considers public investments in good early childhood development programs worthwhile. As state, local, and federal policymakers recognize this constituency and the knowledge that motivates it, public funding should give an increasing number of young children the opportunity to participate in high quality early childhood development programs. For this investment, the nation will be better off.

Appendix A

GOVERNMENT FUNDING OF EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS

Recent increases in government support for early childhood programs have been most dramatic at the state level but have also occurred at local and federal levels.

In 1986, 22 states spent a third of a billion dollars to provide early childhood programs, especially for children living in poverty, while in 1984 only 8 states spent half as much on such programs. These programs, listed in Table 1, now provide approximately 150,000 children and their families with early childhood care and education or parent education. In the aggregate, these programs are about one third the size of the national Head Start program. In addition, Florida, Michigan, Kentucky, and other states may be on the verge of substantially increased expenditures for early childhood programs.

These state early childhood programs have adopted many of the policies associated in this paper with program quality--preschool groups with no more than 20 children and at least 1 adult for every 10 children; certified staff trained in early childhood; a child development curriculum; inservice training; evaluation; administrative curriculum support; parent involvement; and sensitivity to children's health, nutrition, and child care needs. While significant exceptions are noted herein, a complete analysis of these policies by state is beyond the scope of this paper.

Table 1

STATE FUNDING FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS IN FY 1986

Program Type State	Children Served	Funding	Notes
Early Childhood Education	**98,841**	**$147,799,642**	**total identified**
Texas	35,949	$36,266,400	
California	19,264	35,000,000	
New York	10,000	20,000,000	
Illinois	7,400	12,100,000	
Massachusetts	?	10,200,000	some Head Start
South Carolina	9,157	8,678,440	
New Jersey	6,029	8,072,831	
Washington	1,000	2,900,000	FY 1987; some Head Start
Alaska	1,701	2,712,500	Head Start
Louisiana	1,100	2,400,000	
Maryland	2,400	2,250,000	
Pennsylvania	1,800	1,800,000	
Maine	665	1,662,500	Head Start
Michigan	674	1,200,000	
Oklahoma	1,200	849,750	
Florida	?	750,000	
Rhode Island	120	345,000	Head Start
West Virginia	215	257,221	
Kentucky	-	235,000	Office of Child Development
Ohio	167	120,000	
Early Childhood Care	**43,900**	**$162,859,868**	**total identified**
California	42,500	$157,000,000	estimate[a]
New York	?	3,400,000	
Florida	1,400	2,459,868	migrant
Parent Education	**?**	**$16,900,000**	**total identified**
Minnesota	?	$11,300,000	parents and children 0-5
Missouri	?	5,600,000	parents and children 0-3

Note. Figures were supplied by state education and selected other agencies.

[a]California spent $275 million on child care programs, $225 million of which served children 5 and under. However, California does not allocate funds for child care from federal SSBG funds as do most other states. If it had done so at the same average per-capita rate as the other states, it would have allocated $68 million in federal funds to early childhood care and spent $157 million in state funds, as listed above.

As Table 2 shows, the states with the largest numbers of preschoolers in poverty are the most likely to have state-funded early childhood programs. The 8 states with the largest numbers of poor preschoolers all have state-funded early childhood programs; together, these 8 states account for fully 48 percent of the nation's impoverished preschoolers. Of the 22 states with state-funded early childhood programs, 16 are in the 25 states with the largest numbers of poor preschoolers.

Table 2

STATES RANKED BY NUMBER OF POOR 3- AND 4-YEAR-OLDS IN 1983

State	Poor Children (thousands)	State	Poor Children (thousands)	State	Poor Children (thousands)
USA	1,726	Indiana	34	Connecticut	15
		Missouri*	34	Utah	14
California*	185	Virginia	33	Kansas	14
New York*	144	Massachusetts*	31	Nebraska	10
Texas*	143	South Carolina*	29	Idaho	9
Illinois*	83	Wisconsin	26	Maine*	8
Florida*	75	Washington*	26	Hawaii	7
Ohio*	70	Arkansas	24	South Dakota	7
Pennsylvania*	68	Oklahoma*	25	Montana	6
Michigan*	62	Arizona	24	DC*	6
Georgia	54	Minnesota*	23	Rhode Island*	5
Louisiana*	52	Maryland*	22	North Dakota	5
North Carolina	45	Colorado	18	New Hampshire	4
New Jersey*	44	Iowa	17	Nevada	4
Tennessee	41	Oregon	17	Alaska*	4
Alabama	41	West Virginia*	16	Delaware	4
Mississippi	37	New Mexico	16	Vermont	3
Kentucky*	36			Wyoming	2

Note. From The Preschool Challenge, by Lawrence J. Schweinhart, 1985, High/Scope Early Childhood Policy Papers, No. 4, (Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press), p. 4.

*States with state funding for early childhood programs (from Table 1).

Review of State Commitments

California, with more children than any other state, since World War II has maintained the largest state financial commitment to early childhood programs. California's state preschool program was the largest state-funded preschool program in the country until Texas began its statewide program in 1986. In addition, California spends vastly more state funds on child care than does any other state. (Table 1 does not take into account dependent care tax credits on state income tax.)

New York has maintained a statewide prekindergarten program for disadvantaged children since 1966 and has doubled its funding in the past few years. Illinois began its prekindergarten program in 1986, using guidance from the state's early childhood experts to develop the legislation for it.

Texas initiated its statewide prekindergarten program in 1986 and has plans to increase its funding level in 1987, even as it faces severe budgetary cutbacks due to the drop in oil prices. Louisiana, with a similar budget situation, has maintained its commitment as well. While the Texas legislation only requires programs to be made available for disadvantaged and non-English-speaking children, existing Texas programs are the only publicly funded preschool programs in the country that are open to all children. Unfortunately, Texas prekindergarten programs can enroll as many as 22 four-year-olds with only one teacher, a serious impediment to program quality.

Elsewhere in the South, South Carolina continues its planned gradual increase in child development program funds that began with Governor Richard Riley's education reforms of 1984. The South Carolina experience has served

as a model for other states, especially Florida, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, and Michigan. Florida has committed itself to a well-conceived statewide effort in early childhood programs in coming years. However, only minimal new funding for Florida is reflected (along with migrant child care) in Table 1, since a statewide advisory panel network is just now being established. Kentucky has also learned from the South Carolina experience and has formed an Office of Child Development in the governor's office to coordinate efforts in the coming years. Michigan has become greatly interested in state-funded early childhood programs, but a funding allocation of as much as $26 million has been postponed until the 1987 legislative session.

Massachusetts initiated model state early childhood funding in 1986, with guidance from state early childhood experts. Washington State has also developed model early childhood legislation. These states have both recognized the Head Start programs in their states by allocating a portion of the new state funds to Head Start projects. Maine, Alaska, and Rhode Island have also begun to allocate state funds for Head Start.[27]

Minnesota's early childhood family education program, initiated a few years ago by State Senator Jerry Hughes, nearly tripled its funding from $4 million in 1985 to $11 million in 1986. Missouri has joined Minnesota in offering statewide training for parents of very young children and recently reported a favorable evaluation of the program's early results.[28]

New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania are maintaining their commitment to state funding for early childhood programs. Oklahoma, West Virginia, and Ohio have spent some state funds on early childhood programs, but have not developed systematic state approaches.

Big-City Commitments

While the state level of government has been the most active in allocating new funds to early childhood programs, several big cities have also been quite active. Mayor Edward Koch is leading New York City into its own funding commitment to early childhood programs,[29] but Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC appear to be the current local funding leaders.[30] In FY 1986 the Chicago school system spent $35 million on 12,548 children in various publicly funded prekindergarten programs, including $13.5 million in district expenditures and in-kind contributions. The Philadelphia school system spent $21 million on 6,067 children, including $5.5 million in local funds. The District of Columbia, spending $3.1 million on early childhood programs for 4,000 children in 1986, shares with neighboring county governments a strong commitment to early childhood programs. In 1986 local Head Start programs received $3 million from Montgomery County, Maryland, and $2 million from Fairfax County, Virginia.

The Federal Commitment to Head Start

The federal commitment to early childhood programs has been the mainstay of their governmental support over the past two decades, and Head Start has been the flagship of this effort. While broader programs like Chapter 1 compensatory education and the Social Services Block Grant are partly allocated to early childhood programs for poor children, Head Start funding is fully dedicated to such programs and so serves as a good measure of the strength of the federal commitment to this purpose.

Table 3 presents the annual federal funding history of Head Start. From 1965 to 1967, as the program began, annual funding increased from $96 million to $349 million. The negative evaluation of Head Start, known as the

Table 3

FEDERAL HEAD START APPROPRIATIONS, 1965-1990

Fiscal Year	Funding (millions)	Fiscal Year	Funding (millions)
1965	$ 96.4	1978	625.0
1966	198.9	1979	680.0
1967	349.2	1980	735.0
1968	316.2	1981	818.7
1969	333.9	1982	911.7
1970	325.7	1983	912.0
1971	360.0	1984	995.8
1972	376.3	1985	1075.1
1973	400.7	1986	1029.1
1974	403.9	1987	1130.0[a]
1975	403.9	1988	1263.0[a]
1976	441.0	1989	1332.0[a]
1977	475.0	1990	1405.0[a]

Note. From Project Head Start Statistical Fact Sheet by the U.S. Administration for Children, Youth and Families, December 1985 (Washington, DC: Author).

[a]Projected appropriations for 1987-1990 are from Congressional sources.

Westinghouse report,[31] appeared the next year, and funding dropped to $316 million. During the next decade, gradual funding increases averaged about 5 percent a year, less than inflation during that period, so that 1977 funding was $475 million. In 1978, favorable research findings from the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies and its members[32] began to appear, and the Carter Administration obtained a 32 percent funding increase to $625 million, followed by average annual increases of 8 percent during the subsequent six years. Current 1986 funding represents a decrease of 4 percent over the previous year, reflecting the attempt to bring the federal budget into balance. However, projected 1987 funding represents a 10 percent increment over the 1986 level, and Head Start appropriations for subsequent years are projected to rise at an average annual rate of 5 percent. Thus, the 1990 level would be double the 1979 level and triple the 1977 level. Still, we estimate that Head Start now serves only 24 percent of the 3- and 4-year-olds living in poverty in the U.S.[33]

Appendix B

SOURCES OF POLICY INFORMATION ON EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS

Bank Street College of Education
Center for Children's Policy
610 West 112th St.
New York, NY 10025
(212) 663-7200

Children's Defense Fund
122 C St., NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 628-8787

Education Commission of the States
300 Lincoln Tower Building
1860 Lincoln St.
Denver, CO 80295
(303) 830-3600

ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
805 W. Pennsylvania Ave.
Urbana, IL 61801
(217) 333-1386

High/Scope Educational Research Foundation
600 N. River St.
Ypsilanti, MI 48198
(313) 485-2000

National Association for the Education of Young Children
Child Care Information Service
1834 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(800) 424-2460 or (202) 232-8777

National Association of State Boards of Education
701 N. Fairfax St., Suite 340
Alexandria, VA 22314
(703) 684-4000

National Black Child Development Institute
1463 Rhode Island Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 387-1281

National Conference of State Legislatures
Child Care/Early Childhood Education
1050 17th St., Suite 2100
Denver, CO 80265
(303) 623-7800

FOOTNOTES

[1]Martha R. Burt, Estimates of public costs for teenage childbearing: A review of recent studies and estimates of 1985 public costs (Washington, DC: Center for Population Options, 1986).

[2]Information on children's trust funds provided by the National Child Abuse Coalition; information on children's task forces and cabinet-level commissions provided by the Children's Defense Fund.

[3]Jeffrey J. Koshel, "State investments in human capital," Capital Ideas (Washington, DC: National Governors' Association, October 1, 1985).

[4]National Center for Education Statistics, Preprimary enrollment 1980 (Washington, DC: Author, 1982), p. 10.

[5]Unpublished data from the March 1985 supplement to the Current Population Survey, Office of Employment Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor; see also U.S. Bureau of the Census, Child care arrangements of working mothers: June 1982, Current Population Reports, Series P-23 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), p. 4.

[6]Lawrence J. Schweinhart, The preschool challenge, High/Scope Early Childhood Policy Papers, No. 4 (Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press, 1985).

[7]John R. Berrueta-Clement, Lawrence J. Schweinhart, W. Steven Barnett, Ann S. Epstein, & David P. Weikart, Changed lives: The effects of the Perry Preschool Program on youths through age 19, Monographs of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 8 (Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press, 1984).

[8]Ibid. p. 90; and W. Steven Barnett, The Perry Preschool program and its long-term effects: A benefit-cost analysis, High/Scope Early Childhood Policy Papers, No. 2 (Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press, 1985).

[9]Ad Hoc Day Care Coalition, The crisis in infant and toddler child care (Washington, DC: Author, 1985).

[10]Donald E. Pierson, Deborah Klein Walker, & Terrence Tivnan, "A school-based program from infancy to kindergarten for children and their parents," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, (April, 1984), pp. 448-455.

[11]Samuel J. Meisels, Developmental screening in early childhood: A guide, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1985).

[12]"States would fund full-day kindergartens," State Education Review, Volume 1, Issue 4 (Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States, April, 1983).

[13]See Berrueta-Clement et al., op. cit. pp. 99-100. In this review, five of the seven programs evaluated operated five days a week. In our experience, a four-day program allows sufficient classroom time while giving the staff a day in which to plan activities and conduct home visits.

[14]Chicago Public Schools Department of Research and Evaluation, Meeting the national mandate: Chicago's government-funded kindergarten programs fiscal 1984 (Chicago, IL: Author, 1985).

[15]J. W. Humphrey, Summary of results of kindergarten survey (Evansville, IN: Evansville-Vanderburgh Schools, 1984).

[16]For a thorough recent review of after-school child care issues and programs, see When school's out and nobody's home, by Peter Coolsen, Michelle Seligson, and James Gabarino (Chicago, IL: National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse, 1985).

[17]Unpublished data from special survey conducted by the Center for Policy Research, National Governors' Association, 1986.

[18]Unpublished data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, based on the March 1985 Current Population Survey.

[19]Lawrence J. Schweinhart, Early childhood development programs in the 1980s: The national picture, High/Scope Early Childhood Policy Papers, No. 1 (Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press, 1985); and Carolyn Morado, Prekindergarten programs for four-year-olds: State education agency initiatives (Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1985).

[20]Berrueta-Clement et al., op. cit. pp. 83-86.

[21]Richard Ruopp, Jeff Travers, F. Glantz, & Craig Coelen, Children at the center: Summary findings and their implications, Final report of the National Day Care Study, Volume 1 (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, 1979).

[22]James L. Hymes, Jr., Early childhood education: The year in review: A look at 1985 (Carmel, CA: Hacienda Press, 1986), pp. 1-2.

[23]See Jaipaul L. Roopnarine & James E. Johnson (Eds.), Educational Models for Young Children (Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill Co., 1986).

[24]Ann Epstein, Gwen Morgan, Nancy Curry, Richard Endsley, Marilyn Bradbard, & Hakim Rashid, Quality in early childhood programs: Four perspectives, High/Scope Early Childhood Policy Papers, No. 3 (Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press, 1985).

[25]Hymes, op. cit. p. 2.

[26]Jeffrey J. Koshel, The role played by Head Start in serving disadvantaged children--Implications for states (Washington, DC: National Governors' Association, February, 1986).

[27]Jane Weil, One third more: Maine's appropriation of Head Start funds (Steuben, ME: Federal-State Partnership Project, September, 1986).

[28]Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, Executive evaluation summary: New Parents as Teachers Project (Jefferson City, MO: Author, October 1985).

[29]New York City Early Childhood Education Commission (Virginia Thompson, executive director), Take a giant step: An equal start in education for all New York City four-year-olds (New York: Author, 1986).

[30]High/Scope survey of members of the Council of the Great City Schools; complete results will appear in a forthcoming High/Scope policy paper.

[31]Westinghouse Learning Corporation, The impact of Head Start: An evaluation of the effect of Head Start on children's cognitive and affective development, Volumes I-II (Athens OH: Ohio University, 1969).

[32]Irving Lazar, Richard Darlington, Harry Murray, Jacqueline Royce, & Ann Snipper, "Lasting effects of early education," Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1982, Volume 47, Issues 1-2, Serial No. 194; Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, As the twig is bent...Lasting effects of preschool programs (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1983).

[33]Of the 452,300 children served by Head Start in 1985, at least 90 percent (407,070) met poverty guidelines, which is 24 percent of the 1,702,000 3- and 4-year-olds in the U.S. living in poverty, according to a 1984 Current Population Survey.